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*German Influence on the Higher Education of American Women, 1865–1914**

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At the newly opened University of Chicago in 1892–3, most of the women students were housed temporarily in the Hotel Beatrice. Shortly after the first of the year, Dean of Women Marion Talbot learned that one of the students wanted to have a party to "drink up" wine left over from the Christmas festivities at the Beatrice. Talbot, who had come to Chicago from the much more puritanical atmosphere of Wellesley, had found it difficult enough to accept that women students would drink at all; she certainly would not tolerate a party devoted primarily to the consumption of alcohol. Called to Talbot's office, the unnamed student defended her action by saying "that German professors drank at their meetings." The flustered dean replied that the issue was "American ladies, not German professors."[1]

The impact of German professors and of German higher education in general on the United States has long been a subject of scholarly investigation. In the past two decades, the history of the higher education of American women has also become a well-researched field. Yet despite the many types of evidence available, of which the incident at the Beatrice is a very minor one, the two fields have seldom intersected. In part, this neglect has resulted from the diffuse nature of the topic, which does not lend itself to as straightforward an investigation as does the transmission across the Atlantic of the kindergarten or the research seminar. The degree to which German models had a decidedly negative impact on women's education in the United States has tended to exclude this theme from the generally celebratory accounts of German influences on American culture. Most important, scholarship about German influences on American education has from the beginning simply neglected women.

A few years after the incident at the Hotel Beatrice, for example, B. A.

*I would like to acknowledge the research assistance provided by Kyle Longley and Jane Woods.

1. Marion Talbot, *More Than Lore: Reminiscences of Marion Talbot, Dean of Women, the University of Chicago, 1892–1925* (Chicago, 1936), p. 67.

Hinsdale's "Notes on the History of Foreign Influence upon Education in the United States" contained many references to Germany but none to women's education. The long chapter on educational influences in Albert Faust's *The German Element in the United States* included women only in a discussion of the kindergarten, although in a separate chapter Faust did briefly mention four German women who taught their native language at northeastern women's colleges.[2] Between the two world wars, Charles Thwing left even these women out of his discussion of immigrant professors, and his investigations of American students in Germany and of the effects of German models on American universities also gave no coverage to women. John Walz found room for women only in his examination of the kindergarten movement. In 1939, neither W. H. Cowley nor W. Carson Ryan examined the impact on women of the rise of graduate education based on German models, though Ryan mentioned in passing the exclusion of women from Johns Hopkins and Clark universities and their admission to Chicago.[3]

During the 1950s, S. Willis Rudy omitted both women's colleges and coeducation from his examination of "The 'Revolution' in American Higher Education" during the last third of the nineteenth century, and he failed to list M. Carey Thomas among the important college presidents affected by the "impact of the German university." Walter Metzger's discussions of the German influence on the development of American views of academic freedom also neglected the higher education of women, and his work leaves the impression that the only woman involved in issues of academic freedom was Mrs. Leland Stanford.[4] Even in the 1960s, Laurence Veysey omitted women entirely from his discussion of "the lure of the German university," and Jurgen Herbst explicitly restricted his research for *The German Historical School in American Scholarship* to "*men* in university departments of history, politi-

2. B. A. Hinsdale, "Notes on the History of Foreign Influence upon Education in the United States," in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1897–1898,* 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1899), 1: 591–629; Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States, with Special Reference to Its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence,* 2 vols. (Boston and New York, 1909), 2: 201–49, 455–6.

3. Charles Thwing, *The American and the German University: One Hundred Years of History* (New York, 1928); John A. Walz, *German Influence in American Education and Culture* (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 36–42; W. H. Cowley, "European Influences on American Higher Education," *Education Record* 20 (1939): 165–90; W. Carson Ryan, *Studies in Early Graduate Education: The Johns Hopkins, Clark University, the University of Chicago* (New York, 1939), p. 119.

4. S. Willis Rudy, "The 'Revolution' in American Higher Education, 1865–1900," *Harvard Educational Review* 21 (1951): 155–74; Walter P. Metzger, "The German Contribution to the American Theory of Academic Freedom," *AAUP Bulletin* 41 (1955): 214–30; Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York and London, 1955).

cal science, economics, and sociology." Yet two years before Herbst and Veysey published their works, Thomas N. Bonner had demonstrated, in his *American Doctors and German Universities, 1870–1914,* the reality of German influence on an important segment of the higher education of American women.[5]

Historians of the education of American women have not done a significantly better job of exploring German or other foreign influences on their topic. Thomas Woody's pioneering work in the 1920s contained brief surveys of attitudes toward female education in England, France, and Germany, but he concluded the last of these three sections without stating what influence German ideas and institutions had in the United States. In his second volume, though, Woody did mention briefly how some American opponents of coeducation cited German authorities and how "many American women followed the example of American men and pursued advanced studies abroad, chiefly in Germany and France."[6] Yet works concerning American women who earned doctoral degrees written by Emilie Hutchinson and Walter Crosby Eells simply omitted these women who studied abroad, as did Mabel Newcomer's survey of the first century of higher education for American women.[7] In the last twenty years, the explosion of interest in women's history has produced many fine studies of women in higher education and the professions; but with the exception of Margaret Rossiter's examination of women scientists,[8] none of these books has addressed the question of German influence in a meaningful way. The different research agendas in American women's history account for much of this neglect, but the general provincialism of contemporary American historians and their ignorance of foreign languages also contribute to it. References in such works to women who studied abroad frequently reveal an extremely shaky knowl-

5. Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago, 1965), pp. 125–33, and passim; Jurgen Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship: A Study in the Transfer of Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1965), p. viii (emphasis added); Thomas N. Bonner, *American Doctors and German Universities, 1871–1914* (Lincoln, Neb., 1963). Veysey discussed coeducation briefly but totally neglected the women's colleges: *Emergence,* pp. 271–2, 332–3, 374. Nothing related to German influence on the higher education of American women is included in Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans,* 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1983).
6. Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States,* 2 vols. (New York, 1929), 1: 87, and 2: 265–6, 334. In a reevaluation of Woody's work, Maxine Schwartz Seller speaks favorably of its "internationalist" outlook and does not suggest the need for revision in that area: "*A History of Women's Education in the United States:* Thomas Woody's Classic – Sixty Years Later," *History of Education Quarterly* 29 (1989): 95–107.
7. Emilie Josephine Hutchinson, *Women and the Ph.D.* (Greensboro, N.C., 1929); Walter Crosby Eells, "Earned Doctorates for Women in the Nineteenth Century," *AAUP Bulletin* 42 (1956): 644–51; Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for American Women* (New York, 1959).
8. Margaret Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (Baltimore, 1982).

edge of German geography and institutions, and the bibliographies and notes seldom contain works in German.[9]

How, then, should one study the German influence on the higher education of American women before 1914? This essay looks briefly at four subtopics of this general theme: the relation of the German immigrant community to female education, the impact of individual immigrants, the extent to which German institutions for female education served as models for the United States, and the effects in this country of German ideology about woman's capacities and proper place. It then examines in more detail two others subtopics: the impact on women of the adoption of the German university model in the late nineteenth century and the lure that advanced study in Germany exercised on American women.

To explore the relation of the German immigrant community to advanced schooling for women, one could look at the percentage of women students who were daughters or granddaughters of German immigrants in comparison to figures for the overall population. This would require many case studies of individual universities – a task far beyond the scope of this essay. We do know that many immigrants brought with them from Germany a strong prejudice in favor of male teachers: as Geraldine Joncich Clifford has pointed out, "Cities with greater-than-average proportions of male teachers in 1885 also were cities with sizeable German populations: Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Milwaukee."[10]

Among influential immigrants, one individual stands out above the rest: Marie Zakrzewska of the New England Hospital for Women and Children. Although she came to the United States from Berlin in 1852 with only a midwife's training and earned her medical degree in Cleveland, Zakrzewska later served as a crucial source of information and advice about universities and hospitals in German-speaking Europe for two generations of female physicians.[11] Her successful medical career did not provide a model for many other German women, however. As of 1897, for example, the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania had not enrolled a single German student.[12]

9. For an up-to-date bibliography, see Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1990); and John Mack Faragher and Florence Howe, eds., *Women and Higher Education in American History* (New York, 1988).
10. Geraldine Jonçich Clifford, "Man/Woman/Teacher: Gender, Family, and Career in American Educational History," in Donald Warren, ed., *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work* (New York, 1989), p. 296. See also Woody, *History of Women's Education*, 1: 503.
11. Agnes Vietor, ed., *A Woman's Quest: The Life of Marie E. Zakrzewska, M.D.* (New York, 1924); Regina Markell Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science: Women Physicians in American Medicine* (New York, 1985); Mary Walsh, *Doctors Wanted, No Woman Need Apply: Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession, 1835–1975* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1977), pp. 76–105.
12. Clara Marshall, *The Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania: An Historical Outline* (Philadelphia, 1897), p. 73.

Medical training in the United States during the later nineteenth century would, of course, have been of little use to a German woman interested in practicing in her homeland. The same was not true in dentistry, in which American training had a much higher reputation in this period. German women had a major, and seldom acknowledged, impact on opportunities in dentistry for their American sisters. The second woman admitted to an American dental school was Henriette Hirschfeld, who entered the Pennsylvania College of Dental Surgery in 1867, one year after Lucy Hobbs Taylor had graduated in Cincinnati. Hirschfeld's successful completion of her studies in 1869 and news of her thriving practice in Berlin, which was reported in the United States by *The Woman's Journal,* served as a stimulus both to other German women and to Americans. Among the first twenty women who graduated from dental schools in the United States between 1866 and 1881, no fewer than twelve were Germans, including the first four female graduates of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery and one of the first two at the University of Michigan. Almost all of these women dentists returned to Germany to practice, so that their impact in the United States was only as pathbreaking students.[13]

Among the immigrants who remained in this country were several important teachers of German. Faust mentioned Carla Wenckebach and Margarethe Müller at Wellesley, Ottilie Herholz at Vassar, and Marie Kapp at Smith. What he did not mention is that these "professors" were in fact graduates of German teachers' seminars, qualified at home to teach girls only up to the age of sixteen. When advanced courses for women teachers (*Oberlehrerinnenkurse*) became available in Germany, Müller and Herholz returned there – to Göttingen and Berlin, respectively – to obtain training more appropriate for a college professor.[14] German-born Klara Hechtenberg arrived at Smith in 1897 after a more thorough education, including the University of London and a first at Oxford, but after two years she left to pursue a Ph.D. at Heidelberg and never returned. In the first years of the new century, Wellesley hired Natalie Wipplinger after she obtained her doctorate from Freiburg, and Vassar added to its German department Lilian

13. Bonner, *American Doctors,* p. 10; Committee on Historical Research of the Federation of American Women Dentists, "Women in Dentistry," *The Journal of the American Dental Association* 15 (1928): 1, 735–56 (data on graduates, pp. 1, 755–6); *The Woman's Journal* 1, no. 33 (Aug. 20, 1870): 264; James Truman, "Henriette Hirschfeld, D.D.S., and the Women Dentists of 1866–73," *Dental Cosmos* 53 (1911): 1, 380–6; Franziska Tiburtius, "Dr. Henriette Tiburtius," in Deutscher Lyceum-Club, ed., *Bahnbrechende Frauen* (Berlin, 1912), pp. 187–96. Hirschfeld is the only woman mentioned in James Denton, "Some Interrelations between German and American Dentistry, 1800–1914," *The Journal of the American Dental Association* 61 (1960): 587–98.

14. Faust, *German Element.* 2: 455–6; Margarethe Müller, *Carla Wenckebach, Pioneer* (Boston, 1908); *Women's Who's Who of America, 1914–1915* (New York, 1914), pp. 383, 584, 445 (this will be cited as *WWW*). Kapp may not have even attended a seminar.

Stroebe, with a Ph.D. from Heidelberg.[15] The American women's colleges thus provided a few German women with teaching opportunities they could not find at home. These professors were certainly in a position to provide important information about opportunities for study in Germany to the young women attending these elite schools.

Evaluating the influence of German institutions for female schooling on developments in the United States requires a broadening of the definition of "higher" education. Jurgen Herbst has recently pointed out that as early as 1831 the *American Annals of Education and Instruction* printed an article about the education of women teachers in Germany, and he implies that this information contributed to the foundation later in that decade of the first normal schools for women in Massachusetts. In 1851, Henry Barnard published a not entirely accurate account of normal schools for women in Prussia, including that founded for deaconesses by Theodor Fliedner at Kaiserswerth.[16] The training of nurses at Kaiserswerth, on which Barnard also commented favorably, had some influence on the upgrading of nursing in the United States, although its greatest impact was transmitted through Fliedner's most famous student, Florence Nightingale.[17]

The deaconesses' institution at Kaiserswerth enrolled its first American woman, Julia S. Tutwiler of Alabama, in 1873. She had come to Europe as part of a "conducted party of several hundred ministers and public school teachers." Learning from a companion of Fliedner's normal school, she literally knocked on the gates and asked to be admitted. After a year with the deaconesses, Tutwiler moved to Berlin, where she appears to have taught for two years in a private girls' school, attended lectures at the Victoria Lyceum, and at least visited the commercial and technical courses for girls at the Lette Verein. These experiences, along with a later visit to the technical courses organized by Elise Lemonnier in Paris, provided Tutwiler with models for her work as the principal of the Livingston Female Academy, a normal school in her home state, and the major advocate of the foundation of the Alabama State College for Women at Montevallo, originally a commercial and vocational school.[18]

15. *WWW,* pp. 194, 791; Patricia Palmieri, "In Adamless Eden: A Social Portrait of the Academic Community at Wellesley College, 1875–1920," (Ed.D. diss., Harvard University, 1981), p. 308.
16. Jurgen Herbst, *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture* (Madison, Wisc., 1989), pp. 33–5; Henry Barnard, *Normal Schools and Other Institutions, Agencies, and Means Designed for the Professional Education of Teachers,* 2 vols. (Hartford, Conn., 1851), 2: 126–8, 131.
17. Barnard, *Normal Schools,* pp. 129–31; Woody, *History of Women's Education,* 2: 274.
18. Anna Gary Pannell and Dorothea E. Wyatt, *Julia Tutwiler and Social Progress in Alabama* (Alabama, 1961), pp. 26–47, 58, 98–9; Julia S. Tutwiler, "The Technical Education of Women," *Education* 3 (1882): 201–7; Milton Lee Orr, *The State-Supported Colleges for Women* (Nashville, Tenn., 1930), pp. 129–32.

More surprising than the limited impact in the United States of German institutions for women's education is the very modest influence exercised by German ideology on women's proper place and education. Henry Barnard's collection of writings by German pedagogues omitted Betty Gleim and other important advocates of women's education, but it did include a translation of Karl von Raumer's treatise on the subject, which opposed secondary, much less higher, education for girls. In the first edition of his *German Educational Reformers* of 1863 and in the revised edition fifteen years later, however, Barnard gave no coverage to women's education.[19] Even that most notorious American opponent of the higher education of women, Dr. Edward H. Clarke, did not draw on the many readily available German "authorities." Clarke's *Sex in Education; or, A Fair Chance for the Girls,* echoed in many ways the similar views published a year earlier in the equally notorious and perhaps more effective pamphlet by Dr. Theodor von Bischoff of the University of Munich; but Clarke did not cite and does not appear to have read Bischoff. Where Clarke did make use of German sources was in citing a number of correspondents who informed him that German girls had few problems with menstruation because they did not compete with boys at school, left school at age fifteen, and had complete rest during their periods. Several of the responses to Clarke also cited German correspondents on this issue, an aspect of the debate not touched upon by the many recent commentaries on Clarke and his influence.[20]

The relatively modest and very diffuse impact on the higher education of American women exercised by German immigrants, institutional models for female education, and ideological views of women's proper schooling does not hold true when one turns to the two themes that have dominated scholarship dealing with German influence on the higher education of American men: the German university as a model for new institutions in the United States and Germany as the place to go to receive advanced training. With regard to the first of these themes, one must make a distinction between the new American universities usually included in the discussions of German influence – especially Michigan, Cornell, Johns Hop-

19. Henry Barnard, ed., *German Pedagogy* (2d ed.; Hartford, Conn., 1876), pp. 295–367; idem, *German Educational Reformers* (Hartford, Conn., 1863); idem, ed., *Memoirs of Eminent Teachers and Educators with Contributions to the History of Education in Germany* (rev. ed., Hartford, Conn., 1878); Woody, *History of Women's Education,* 2: 265–6.

20. Edward H. Clarke, *Sex in Education; or, A Fair Chance for the Girls* (Boston, 1873), pp. 169–77; Julie Ward Howe, ed., *Sex and Education: A Reply to Dr. E. H. Clarke's "Sex in Education"* (Boston, 1874), pp. 47–8; Anna C. Brackett, ed., *The Education of American Girls, Considered in a Series of Essays* (New York, 1874), pp. 363–7. For the most recent discussion of Clarke, see Sue Zschoche, "Dr. Clarke Revisited: Science, True Womanhood, and Female College Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 29 (1989): 545–70. On Bischoff's *Das Studium und die Ausübung der Medizin durch Frauen* (Munich, 1872), see James C. Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls and Women: Secondary and Higher Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1988), p. 126.

kins, Clark, and Chicago – and the women's colleges universally omitted from such discussions.

Henry P. Tappan, head of the University of Michigan from 1852 to 1863, is often regarded as the first great "Germanizing" – or, perhaps more accurately, "Prussianizing" – university president. Before going to Michigan, and before ever visiting Germany, he wrote in 1851, "The Universities of Protestant Germany stand forth as model institutions." Later that year, a visit to the University of Bonn – then scarcely thirty years old – further impressed him with what Prussia had built up in such a short time. At Ann Arbor, Tappan tried to introduce as many aspects of the Prussian universities as he could, including abolition of dormitories, which he labeled "a mere remnant of the monkish Middle Ages, still retained in England, but banished from the universities of Germany."[21] When women first applied in 1858, Tappan adamantly opposed their request, considering "the admission of women as an unbearable threat to his whole concept of what a university should be." A man who in 1867 would write from self-imposed exile in Switzerland that the admission of women students at Michigan would lead to "*defeminated* women and *demasculated* men" may not have needed the model of a German university to stimulate his opposition to coeducation, but Tappan's sense of what a "true" university should be certainly contributed to what proved to be a twelve-year delay in the admission of women to the University of Michigan.[22]

Such an "elective affinity" between enthusiasm for the German research university and opposition to the higher education of women, or at least to coeducation, existed in many of the other late-nineteenth-century Germanizers, but not all. Andrew D. White was perhaps the most ambiguous case. As president of Cornell, White was one of the leaders of what Veysey has called the "utilitarian" movement in American higher education, opposed to the "pure scholarship" of the German universities. White also oversaw the admission of women to the first major eastern college or university, being moved to support coeducation in part, as he tells us in his autobiography, by the pleas of his mother.[23] Yet White was a less devoted advocate of coeducation and a more serious Germanophile than he has sometimes been portrayed. When he visited Europe in 1868 to inspect technical and agricultural schools, his itinerary included no institutions that

21. Henry P. Tappan, *University Education* (New York, 1851; reprint New York, 1969), p. 39; Charles M. Perry, *Henry Philip Tappan* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1933), pp. 151, 232.
22. Dorothy Gies McGuigan, *A Dangerous Experiment: One Hundred Years of Women at the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1970), pp. 18, 30.
23. Veysey, *Emergence,* pp. 60, 78–82; Andrew D. White, *The Autobiography of Andrew D. White,* 2 vols. (New York, 1905), 1: 397–402.

indicated that he expected to train women students at Cornell any time soon. The limits to his enthusiasm for coeducation became especially clear in a speech on "The New Germany" that White delivered frequently after returning from his two years as U.S. minister in Berlin from 1879 to 1881. This address heaped praise on the German universities without mentioning their exclusion of women, even though, during his service in Berlin, White had helped convince the government of Saxony to allow four American women auditing courses at Leipzig to continue doing so at a time when new auditors were going to be banned. In this speech, he also suggested that the United States should imitate Germany and concentrate its resources on twenty to thirty universities that would "receive young *men* from the colleges."[24]

Johns Hopkins University, with its devotion to graduate education, its strong emphasis on the professor as researcher, and its hiring of numerous scholars with German degrees, was the American institution based most clearly on German models, despite Daniel Coit Gilman's insistence that the founders "did not undertake to establish a German university, nor an English university, but an American university." Hopkins also was, as Woody put it, "the last of the great graduate institutions of the country to admit women" – in 1907. With the father of M. Carey Thomas on its original board of trustees, Hopkins considered coeducation but rejected it, with the one trustee who had studied in Germany, Heidelberg graduate Reverdy Johnson, leading the opposition. Topping a list of books ordered by the trustees in 1874 were Matthew Arnold's *Higher Schools and Universities in Germany* and Dr. Clarke's *Sex in Education,* a striking indication of the concerns that shaped the new university.[25]

Gilman himself had studied in Berlin in the 1850s, along with Andrew D. White. While president of the newly founded and coeducational University of California in 1871, he "had forecast a university for graduate study only, 'to which young *men* will resort for the highest sort of scholastic training,' " clearly a scheme derived from his German experiences. On his trip to Europe in 1875, Gilman stopped at the universities of Zurich and

24. White, *Autobiography,* 1: 291, 338, 552–3; Glenn C. Altschuler, *Andrew D. White – Educator, Historian, Diplomat* (Ithaca, N.Y., and London, 1979), pp. 119–20; Andrew Dickson White, "The New Germany," *American Geographical Society of New York, Journal* 14 (1882): 240–2 (emphasis added). Professor Goldwyn Smith, who was from England, suggested that the admission of women would cause Cornell "to sink at once from the rank of a University to that of an Oberlin or a high school": Charlotte Williams Conable, *Women at Cornell: The Myth of Equal Education* (Ithaca, N.Y., and London, 1977), p. 77.

25. Daniel Coit Gilman, *The Launching of a University* (New York, 1906; reprint, New York, 1969), p. 49; Woody, *History of Women's Education,* 2: 337; Hugh Hawkins, *Pioneer: A History of the Johns Hopkins University, 1874–1889* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1960), pp. 259–67, 329.

Leipzig without commenting on the women students at either location. In Berlin he inspected even *Realschulen* for boys but apparently visited no institutions devoted to female education.[26] Here again, Germanophilia appears to have worked strongly against the higher education of American women.

The same was true with G. Stanley Hall at Clark University. Like White, Hall was in Germany in the late 1870s, during which time he submitted various essays to *The Nation* that were later published as *Aspects of German Culture*. Although Hall did comment on female education, his remarks centered on the ladylike deportment of the "little girls at the Victoria School in Berlin" and on how German girls avoided the "pitiable and useless half-culture in ancient languages, mathematics, sciences, etc.," in pursuit of which many American girls ruined their health – echoes of Dr. Clarke. Like White and Gilman, Hall praised the universities without mentioning the question of women students, even though he had spent a year in Leipzig before women auditors were banned and had known a woman who had studied in Germany when he taught at Antioch College in the mid-1870s. Hall claimed in his autobiography that from its opening in 1889, Clark University "always admitted women graduate students on the same basis as men"; but, in fact, the first few women were tolerated only as private students of individual professors, and none was allowed to earn a Ph.D. until 1908.[27]

The University of Chicago was the last of the major new institutions inspired to a significant degree by the ideal of the German research university to open and the only one that was coeducational from the beginning. Although one prominent citizen of Chicago asked, "How can the University be the dignified body of scholars that you intend if women are to be included?", neither the fourteen members of the original faculty with German Ph.D.s nor any other constituency offered major opposition to the introduction of coeducation, which by 1892 had over a twenty-year history at the nearby state universities of Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Women students at Chicago, in addition to whatever profits they derived from the example of German professors who drank at parties, benefited particularly from the strong influence of the German social sciences at the university, with some, such as Katharine Bement Davis, even being able to pursue part of their studies in Germany.[28]

26. Hawkins, *Pioneer*, p. 65 (emphasis added); Gilman, *Launching*, p. 13; Fabian Franklin, *The Life of Daniel Coit Gilman* (New York, 1910), pp. 204–7.
27. G. Stanley Hall, *Aspects of German Culture* (Boston, 1881), pp. 3, 305–6, 318–19; idem, *Life and Confessions of a Psychologist* (New York, 1923), pp. 202, 318; William A. Koelsch, *Clark University, 1887–1987: A Narrative History* (Worcester, Mass., 1987), pp. 72–4.
28. Talbot, *More Than Lore*, p. 64; Richard J. Storr, *Harper's University: The Beginnings* (Chicago and

If the cases of Tappan, White, Gilman, and Hall suggest that male admiration of German universities tended to work against the expansion of higher education for American women, in at least one case an American male combined lavish praise of the German university system with direct criticism of the exclusion of women. In 1871, Charles Phelps Taft, half-brother of the future president of the United States and holder of a law degree from Heidelberg, spoke to the Cincinnati Literary Club about the plans for founding a major university in that city. After recommending many elements of German higher education, Taft remarked, "Those great universities have not encouraged the aspirations of women. In this respect, at least, we may improve upon their system; for the doors of our university may be open not only to the graduates of a Yale or a Harvard, but also to those of a Vassar or a McMicken College for young women," as one segment of the University of Cincinnati was expected to be known.[29]

What influence did the German universities have on the evolution of such colleges for women? With regard to seminaries such as Mount Holyoke and Wheaton that gradually grew into colleges, it is difficult to trace any impact whatsoever. For the coordinate colleges such as the "Harvard Annex," Barnard, and Pembroke, the new women's colleges at Cambridge and Oxford served as models more than German institutions did, although in all three cases it was primarily the failure of women to gain admission to the existing male colleges that provided the most important stimulus. At Columbia, where president Frederick A. P. Barnard had proposed opening the college to women in his annual reports for 1879, 1880, and 1881, the creation of a coordinate college resulted largely from the opposition to coeducation by Germanophiles such as John W. Burgess and Nicholas Murray Butler. As late as 1892, Columbia's University Council resisted the proposed affiliation of Teachers College because it would "introduce coeducation into Columbia in a most pronounced form," something to be avoided at a time "when Columbia is becoming a university and is laying the foundations of its reputation as such."[30] Here again, German models of what constituted a true university militated against the admission of women.

Several features of the independent women's colleges created after the

London, 1966), p. 76; Ellen Fitzpatrick, *Endless Crusade: Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reform* (New York, 1990), pp. 28–9, 54–5.

29. Charles Phelps Taft, *The German University and the American College* (Cincinnati, 1871), p. 20. See also Alphonso Taft, *A Lecture on the University of Cincinnati: Its Aims, Needs, and Resources* (Cincinnati, 1872); and Reginald C. McGrane, *The University of Cincinnati: A Success Story in Urban Higher Education* (New York, 1963).

30. Annie Nathan Meyer, *Barnard Beginnings* (Boston and New York, 1935), pp. 8, 47; John Fulton, *Memoirs of Frederick A. P. Barnard* (New York and London, 1896), pp. 407–22; John W. Burgess, *Reminiscences of an American Scholar* (New York, 1934), pp. 174, 241–3; Nicholas Murray Butler, *Across the Busy Years: Recollections and Reflections*, 2 vols. (New York, 1939–40), 1: 76, 80, 183.

Civil War – the religious impulses of their founders, the cloistered housing of their students (despite the variations documented by Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz),[31] the presence of women faculty members, and the relatively young age groups served – distinguished them sharply from German universities. Yet, like White, Gilman, and Hall, the president designates of Vassar and Smith – Milo P. Jewett and L. Clark Seelye – took trips to Europe to learn about the latest developments in higher education. When Jewett traveled in 1862, he visited Queen's College and Bedford College in London but found little to inspect in Germany other than several private girls' schools. He did, however, express admiration for German pedagogy and the role of religion in the schools, and he reported to the trustees that all young women "who desire to explore the richest mines of human thought" would have to "acquire an ability to read the German." Jewett resigned before the college opened, however, and it is difficult to detect any specific German influence on Vassar's early years other than that exercised by the riding master, a former Prussian cavalry officer named Leopold von Seldeneck.[32]

By the time Clark Seelye went to Europe in 1873, many more institutions for the higher education of women were available to be seen. All that he tells us, though, is that he "visited the universities of England, Germany, Switzerland, and France, giving special attention to Girton College, which had just been opened for women near Cambridge." Seelye destroyed his papers, and nothing more is known about the effects on Smith College of what he learned on his travels. As early as 1877, however, Seelye did hire a physics professor with a German Ph.D.[33]

Neither Henry Fowle Durant, the founder of Wellesley College, nor Ada L. Howard, its first president, made any inspection trip abroad; and with its faculty composed entirely of women, Wellesley appears to have been far removed from any German model. Yet Durant's close friend and supporter, Eben Horsford, had studied in a German university, and Durant from the beginning was much more interested than Matthew Vassar or Sophia Smith in moving beyond a college to a university. Patricia Palmieri has noted Durant's openness to pedagogical innovations, "especially those which emanated from German universities. In science this meant labora-

31. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York, 1984).
32. Vassar Female College, *The President's Trip to Europe* (New York, 1863), pp. 12, 15, 18, 22; James Monroe Taylor, *Before Vassar Opened* (New York, 1914), pp. 135–44; Woody, *History of Women's Education*, 2: 118.
33. L. Clark Seelye, *The Early History of Smith College, 1871–1910* (Boston and New York, 1923), pp. 18, 45. His daughter repeats verbatim his own account: Harriet Seelye Rogers, *Laurenus Clark Seelye: First President of Smith College* (Boston and New York, 1929), p. 127.

tories in which students participated with a sense of independence and adventure in experiment and discovery." In 1878, Wellesley became the second college in the country to have a physics laboratory, the first being MIT. Yet some aspects of the German university were explicitly rejected at Wellesley: the English department, for example, tried to avoid "undiscriminating acceptance of the dry, detailed scholarship emanating from Germany," and many of the faculty cultivated the lifestyle of Oxford dons rather than of German professors.[34]

The last of the major independent women's colleges to open, Bryn Mawr, was also the most strongly influenced by the German university. Its founder, the Quaker physician Joseph Wright Taylor, did not have direct experience of higher education in Germany; but through years of service on the Board of Managers of Haverford College, he had come to know many men who were also trustees of Johns Hopkins, including James Carey Thomas. Taylor met Martha Carey Thomas in late 1876, when she was a senior at Cornell, and appears to have been impressed by her suggestion that women needed access to graduate education if they were to become good college teachers. Taylor's will, written soon after this encounter, pointed in two different directions, toward a women's college that might imitate either Haverford or Johns Hopkins. As the historian of the college has written, "Records have failed to reveal conclusively at just what point it was decided that Bryn Mawr, unlike any other women's college already in existence, was to have a department for graduate study."[35]

When Bryn Mawr opened in 1885, it did possess a graduate department, fellowships for graduate students, and a nine-member faculty who all had Ph.D.s, including one each from Leipzig and Munich and three from Zurich, two of whom were women, Carey Thomas and Emily L. Gregory. Thomas's own experiences during three years at Leipzig had convinced her of the importance of professors devoted to research, and she persuaded the trustees of Bryn Mawr that it was more important that faculty members have Ph.D.s than that they be Quakers. Bryn Mawr granted its first Ph.D. in 1888 to Mamie Gwinn, who had studied with Thomas in Leipzig but had not tried to obtain a degree from Zurich.[36] Thus, in many ways, the German influence on Bryn Mawr appears to have been every bit as powerful

34. Florence Converse, *The Story of Wellesley* (Boston, 1915), pp. 35–6; Palmieri, "In Adamless Eden," pp. 26, 35, 357, 334; Alice Payne Hackett, *Wellesley: Part of the American Story* (New York, 1949), p. 45.
35. Cornelia Meigs, *What Makes a College? A History of Bryn Mawr* (New York, 1956), pp. 15, 18–19, 27–9.
36. Patricia Hochschild LaBalme, ed., *A Century Recalled: Essays in Honor of Bryn Mawr College* (Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1987), p. 57; Edith Finch, *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr* (New York, 1947), pp. 155, 128, 212; Meigs, *What Makes a College?*, p. 52.

as on the male institutions that have been the focus of earlier studies of the impact of the German universities in the United States.

Mentioning Thomas, Gregory, and Gwinn raises the final subtopic for this investigation: the role of studying in Germany for the development of the higher education of American women. In many ways, women merely followed the patterns set by the men who flocked to the German universities, especially during the 1880s and 1890s, but several features of the women's experiences differentiate them from those of male students. An important part of the context in which serious study in Germany became possible for women was the increasing ease of travel in the late nineteenth century, which allowed for the growing practice among at least some segments of the American upper classes of sending their daughters to Europe for "finishing" at elite boarding schools, for instruction in music or art, or simply for travel.[37] This practice was widespread enough by the mid-1880s to arouse some anxieties, one response to which was the creation in 1886 of the American Home School for Girls in Berlin, which was advertised as having "the influences and care of a refined Christian home" and was managed by Mary Bannister Willard, the sister-in-law of temperance leader Frances Willard.[38]

One group of young American women who pursued higher studies in Germany, those who attended the Victoria Lyceum in Berlin, may well have been carrying out this "finishing" process at a more advanced level. This institution, which offered women a variety of lecture courses taught by university professors and other instructors, had been brought to the notice of Americans by an article in the first issue of *The Woman's Journal* in 1870.[39] The first American to study there may have been Julia Tutwiler during her two years of teaching near Berlin in 1874–6. By the late 1870s, a number of Vassar graduates, as well as several women from the University of Iowa, attended courses at the Victoria Lyceum.[40] It is likely that several other women, among them a Vassar graduate named Gertrude Mead, who, according to Carey Thomas, was studying in Berlin in 1881, also took

37. I know of no scholarly research on this theme, which would make an excellent topic for a dissertation.
38. L. H. Stone, "The Influences of Foreign Education on American Girls," *Education* 3 (1882–3): 14–23; Horace M. Kennedy, "Studying in Germany," *Popular Science Monthly* 26 (1885): 347–52; Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore, eds., *A Woman of the Century: Fourteen Hundred Seventy Biographical Sketches* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1893), p. 781.
39. *The Woman's Journal* 1, no. 1 (Jan. 8, 1870), p. 3. On the Victoria Lyceum, see Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls*, pp. 117–21, 155–6, 217–18.
40. Laura Brownell Collier (Vassar), Lilian Bayard Taylor Kiliani (Vassar), and Virginia Joynes Slagle Berryhill (Iowa), in *WWW*, pp. 194, 455, 97; Ella Hamiliton Durley (Iowa) in Willard and Livermore, *Woman of the Century*, p. 265.

advantage of the opportunity to hear famous professors at the Victoria Lyceum.[41]

By 1890, however, attendance at this institution had developed into something more than advanced finishing. In that year, a woman with a graduate fellowship from an American college attended lectures in art history at the Victoria Lyceum after being denied admission to the same professor's classes at the University of Berlin. As mentioned earlier, Ottilie Herholz returned to Germany from Vassar to take the new *Oberlehrerinnenkurse* at the Victoria Lyceum in the 1890s. At least two graduates of Smith also appear to have pursued advanced study in German literature in this fashion during the mid-1890s.[42]

Physicians contributed to a second major group of American women who sought advanced training in German-speaking Europe during the last third of the nineteenth century. Like their male colleagues, the large majority of these women already had degrees from domestic institutions before they went overseas. In contrast to their male colleagues, however, female physicians from the United States had extremely limited opportunities to study in the hospitals and universities of the Second Reich; the "German" influence on them took place primarily in Zurich and Vienna.[43]

During the 1860s, the Maternite hospital in Paris was the main destination for American female physicians seeking training abroad, and in 1866 Mary Putnam began studies in Paris that would lead to the first foreign medical degree for an American woman. By early 1868, however, Susan Dimock, a student at Zakrzewska's New England Hospital for Women and Children, had learned about the new opportunities at the University of Zurich, where after three years of study she would earn a degree in 1871. Although many other American women followed Dimock to Zurich over the next decades, as of 1897 only eight had taken degrees there.[44]

American women also began to arrive in Vienna for medical studies in the late 1860s, the first two apparently being Mary Jane Safford and Josephine Henry. By the early 1870s, Zakrzewska noted, "Not less than six of

41. Mary Gertrude Mead Abbey in *WWW,* p. 33; Finch, *Carey Thomas,* p. 102, which misspells the name as "Meade."

42. Helen R. Olin, *The Women of a State University: An Illustration of the Working of Coeducation in the Middle West* (New York, 1909), p. 279; Herholz, Daisy Luana Blaisdell, and Anna Sheldon Kitchel Bole in *WWW,* pp. 383, 115, 112.

43. For greater detail see Thomas N. Bonner, *To the Ends of the Earth: Women's Quest for Education in Medicine, 1845–1914* (Cambridge, Mass. 1992).

44. Mary P. Jacobi, *Life and Letters of Mary Putnam Jacobi,* ed. Ruth Putnam (New York, 1925); Vietor, *A Woman's Quest,* pp. 299–302, 347; Hanny Rohner, *Die ersten 30 Jahre des medizinischen Frauenstudiums an der Universität Zürich, 1867–1897* (Zurich, 1972). See also Thomas Neville Bonner, "Rendezvous in Zurich: Seven Who Made a Revolution in Women's Medical Education, 1864–1874," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 44 (1989): 7–27.

our pupils from Boston are at present receiving the benefits which the opportunities for medical study and research offer in Vienna." Graduates of the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania, such as Anna Broomall, also journeyed to Vienna after earning their degrees.[45]

Mary Jane Safford left Vienna in 1871 for Breslau, where she worked with Wilhelm Waldeyer and was one of the first women ever to perform an ovariotomy. She also visited hospitals in Leipzig and Dresden.[46] The maternity hospital in Dresden, where Dr. Franz Winckel welcomed women as voluntary assistants, had been visited by Emily Blackwell as early as 1856; and in the 1870s and early 1880s, it was the only German institution easily accessible to American female physicians. When Winckel moved to Munich in the 1880s, the American physician Anna Mary Galbraith was one of his first assistants. In contrast, Waldeyer never welcomed other women students, and in 1888 he asserted – in the most influential attack on female physicians since that of Bischoff – that his one American student should remain an exception, not become the rule.[47] That he rather than Winckel represented the views of the majority of professors meant that American women, however much they shared in the general admiration for German medical training, could seldom benefit directly from it.

The third group of American women who studied in Imperial Germany were those who enrolled in the philosophical faculties of the universities – until after 1900, necessarily as auditors. How these pioneers learned of opportunities to do so is not clear, for the well-known accounts of German universities by Matthew Arnold and James Morgan Hart offered no information on this matter, nor did the later reports by Hjalmar Boyesen, Richard Ely, G. Stanley Hall, Andrew D. White, or James W. Bell.[48] The first American female auditor appears to have been Rebecca Rice, the mathe-

45. Willard and Livermore, *Woman of the Century*, p. 629; Vietor, *A Woman's Quest*, p. 359; Leroy H. Fischer, "Mary Jane Safford," and Patricia Spain Ward, "Anne Broomall," in Joe Smith, ed., *Notable American Women*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 3: 220–2, 1: 246–7. Willard and Livermore were incorrect when they stated that Safford and Henry matriculated at Vienna.

46. Safford's own reports in *The Woman's Journal* 2, no. 31 and 42 (Aug. 5 and Oct. 21, 1871), pp. 245, 336; "Mary Jane Safford," in Egbert Cleave, ed., *Biographical Cyclopedia of Homeopathic Physicians and Surgeons* (Philadelphia, 1873), pp. 466–7.

47. Elizabeth H. Thomson, "Emily Blackwell," *Notable American Women*, 1: 166; Galbraith in *WWW*, p. 312; Wilhelm Waldeyer, "Das Studium der Medizin und die Frauen," *Tageblatt der deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte* 61, part 2 (1888): 37.

48. Matthew Arnold, *Higher Schools and Universities in Germany* (London, 1874); James Morgan Hart, *German Universities* (New York and London, 1874); Hjalmar Boyesen, "The University of Berlin," *Scribner's Monthly* 18 (1879): 205–17; Richard T. Ely, "American Colleges and German Universities," *Harper's Magazine* 61 (1880): 253–60; Hall, *Aspects of German Culture;* White, "The New Germany"; James Washington Bell, "German Universities," *Education* 2 (1881–2): 49–64.

matics professor at Antioch mentioned in Hall's autobiography, who was taking courses at Heidelberg in 1873 at the time when the university senate voted to bar any future female auditors.[49] No American woman followed Rice's example until 1879, when Eva Channing, whose father was a friend of Zakrzewska, began taking courses at Leipzig. She published an anonymous article about her experiences in the *Atlantic Monthly,* but by the time it appeared, three other Americans had already arrived in Leipzig: Harriet Parker, a graduate of the University of Iowa; and M. Carey Thomas and her friend Mary Gwinn, who had learned of Channing's presence through Andrew D. White, then U.S. minister in Berlin.[50] Like Rice at Heidelberg, however, these four Americans at Leipzig were among the last women admitted as auditors before the Saxon government closed off access to the university.

During the 1880s, a handful of American women managed to pursue studies with professors at German universities without being officially allowed to audit courses. In late 1882, Mary Waston Whitney, professor of astronomy at Vassar, reported that "an American girl is studying under Professor Vichow [sic] at Berlin." At the same university, the botanist Simon Schwendener had two such female students in the mid-1880s: Emily L. Gregory, who interrupted her studies at Zurich to work with him, the other probably Susan Hallowell, a professor at Wellesley.[51] Late in the decade, Leipzig again began attracting a number of American women, even though auditing by women was officially banned.[52]

By the early 1890s, the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (ACA), Bryn Mawr College, and the Women's Educational Association of New England were offering graduate fellowships for women interested in studying abroad; and such organizations were able to provide up-to-date information about which universities allowed women to study. German universities drew a

49. Hall, *Life,* p. 202; Hans Krabusch, "Die Vorgeschichte des Frauenstudiums an der Universität Heidelberg," *Ruperto-Carola* 19 (1956): 139n.
50. Anonymous letter to "The Contributor's Club," *Atlantic Monthly* 44 (1879): 788–91; Harriet Parker Campbell in *WWW,* p. 157; Finch, *Carey Thomas,* pp. 88, 96. Details of Thomas's three years in Leipzig can be found in Marjorie Housepian Dobkin, ed., *The Making of a Feminist: Early Journals and Letters of M. Carey Thomas* (Kent, Ohio, 1979). I assume that Eva Channing was the daughter of William Francis Channing mentioned in *National Cyclopedia of American Biography,* Vol. 23, pp. 284–5.
51. M. W. Whitney, "Scientific Study and Work for Women," *Education* 3 (1882–3): 64; Simon Schwendener in Arthur Kirchhoff, ed., *Die akademische Frau* (Berlin, 1897), p. 282; Helen Abbott Michael, *Studies in Plant and Organic Chemistry* (Cambridge, Mass., 1907), p. 54; Hackett, *Wellesley,* p. 43.
52. Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls,* pp. 223–4, which incorrectly states that Jane Belle Sherzer was the "J. B. S." who wrote about studying in Leipzig in *The Nation* 58 (1894): 154.

significant percentage of these fellowship holders, including nine of the first thirteen ACA fellows.[53] At some universities, these women were the first, or among the first, allowed to audit courses. In the mid-1890s, American women even began earning the coveted German Ph.D., though they still could not matriculate as regular students.

Several things are worth noting about the fields studied by American women in Germany. Most remarkable was the string of fellows – at least seven between 1893 and 1900 – who pursued mathematics at Göttingen under Felix Klein and other professors, a practice originally encouraged by Friedrich Althoff from the Prussian Ministry of Education.[54] Another important cluster of American women, including Emily Greene Balch and Mary Kingsbury, gathered in the courses of the *Kathedersozialisten* Gustav Schmoller and Adolf Wagner at Berlin.[55] On the negative side, it appears that no American woman in the 1890s and no ACA fellow before 1914 pursued a Ph.D. in history from a German university.

The improving quality of and opportunities for graduate study in the United States had the same effect on American women as they did on men. Even before World War I cut off the possibility of studying in Germany, the lure of the German university for American women had begun to fade.[56] Yet in 1915, the American feminist Katherine Anthony pointed to a potential new German influence on the higher education of American women when she claimed that the opening of matriculation for women at all German universities by 1909 was "a more liberal policy than the exclusively male universities of the Eastern States of America."[57] It would take over fifty years, of course, before this "German influence," in combination with changes in American society, would help bring coeducation to colleges such as Yale, Princeton, Dartmouth, Williams, and Amherst.

53. Margaret E. Maltby, *History of the Fellowships Awarded by the American Association of University Women* (Washington, D.C., 1929), pp. 13–18.
54. For Annie MacKinnon Fitch, Margaret Maltby, Mary Frances Winston, Fanny Gates, ibid.; Emilie Norton Martin, Virginia Ragsdale, and Adelaide Smith in *WWW,* pp. 543, 669, 753; on Althoff, see Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls,* p. 227.
55. Mercedes Randall, *Improper Bostonian: Emily Greene Balch* (New York, 1964), pp. 90–7.
56. Rossiter, *Women Scientists,* p. 43.
57. Katharine Anthony, *Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia* (New York, 1915), pp. 32–3.